

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 03351

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM, UNGA, UK
SUBJECT: UNSSOD: SECURITY ASSURANCES FOR NON-NUCLEAR
STATES

REF: LONDON 2889

1. DURING INFORMAL DISCUSSION FEBRUARY 28, HEAD OF
FCO'S ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT DEPARTMENT (MALLABY)
ELABORATED ON DISCUSSION TAKING PLACE WITHIN HMG OF
POSSIBLE FORMULATIONS ON NEGATIVE ASSURANCES TO NON-
NUCLEAR STATES (REFTEL).

2. FIRST, HE RESTATED PROPOSED ASSURANCE FORMULATION
ALONG LINES THAT NUCLEAR STATES WOULD PLEDGE NOT TO
USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST ANY NON-NUCLEAR STATE
THAT HAD RENOUNCED NUCLEAR WEAPONS (NOTE 1), EXCEPT
IN THE EVENT OF AN ATTACK ON ITS TERRITORY OR ARMED
FORCES, OR THAT OF ITS ALLIES (NOTE 2), BY A NON-
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NUCLEAR STATE WHICH IS IN ALLIANCE OR ASSOCIATION WITH
(NOTE 3) A NUCLEAR STATE.

3. RE NOTE 1 ON RENUNCIATION, BRITISH FAVOR THIS
FORMULA OVER REFERENCE TO NPT ADHERENCE ON GROUNDS
THAT IT WOULD CAST THE NET WIDER: SOME STATES MAY
BE MORE READILY ENCOURAGED TO AGREE TO FULL FUEL-CYCLE

SAFEGUARDS UNDER IAEA THAN TO ACCEDE TO NPT. ON BALANCE, IN UK VIEW, THIS WOULD BE EQUALLY SATISFACTORY FOR WESTERN NON-PROLIFERATION INTERESTS. STATES COULD MAKE UNILATERAL INTERPRETATIONS OF WHAT RENUNCIATION ACTUALLY MEANT, ALTHOUGH HERE MALLABY ASSUMED THAT ALLIES WOULD CONSULT TO PRESENT REASONABLY SOLID FRONT.

4. RE NOTE 2 ON SCOPE OF ATTACK, FCO IS DEBATING WHETHER TO TALK GENERALLY OF AN "ATTACK" BY NON-NUCLEARS OR SPECIFICALLY OF ATTACK ON ARMED FORCES AND/OR TERRITORY OF UK AND/OR (SPECIFIED) ALLIES. ARMS CONTROLLERS WITHIN HMG ARE ARGUING FOR LATTER APPROACH, WHICH THEY BELIEVE IS MORE PRECISE AND THUS WOULD HEIGHTEN IMPACT OF HMG'S ASSURANCE. IN THE END, BRITISH WOULD NO DOUBT GO ALONG WITH US PREFERENCE ON THIS DRAFTING POINT (AND PROBABLY OTHERS ON WHICH WE HAVE STRONG VIEWS).

5. RE NOTE 3 ON "ASSOCIATION." BRITISH HAVE CONSIDERED USE OF PHRASE SUCH AS "IN LEAGUE WITH," WHICH HAS CRIMINAL CONNOTATION AS USED IN BRITISH MEDIA, BUT NOW PREFER "ASSOCIATION," WHICH WOULD ALLOW HMG A WIDER DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY IN ACTUAL EVENT.

6. UK IS HOPEFUL THAT ALL NUCLEAR POWERS WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE TO SOME FORM OF "NEGATIVE" ASSURANCE AT
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UNSSOD. ALLIED STATEMENTS, IN EVOLVING UK VIEW, SHOULD BE SIMILAR BUT NEED NOT BE IDENTICAL.

7. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH SOURCE DID NOT SAY SO, FCO UNDOUBTEDLY INTENDS NEGATIVE ASSURANCES TO FORM CENTERPIECE OF PRIME MINISTER'S UNSSOD PRESENTATION, AND WILL BE MOST INTERESTED IN RECEIVING EARLY WASHINGTON VIEWS ON SUBJECT.

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